THE HONOUR

Due to the

Civil Magistrate

Stated and Urg'd;

IN A

SERMON

Compos'd for the

Day of Thanksgiving,

For the happy Discovery of the Late

Horrid and Execrable Conspiracy

AGAINST

His Majesties Sacred Person and Government.

By *THEOPHILUS DORRINGTON.*

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *materials of the following Diſcourſe are Thoughts which have a long time taken poſſeſſion of my Mind, upon a good conſideration of the Duty therein urg'd, and of the Behaviour of the World with Relation to it. The Occaſion of putting them now together was, The Happy Diſcovery of the late Wicked and Deteſtible Conſpiracy againſt the Life of Our* KING; (*whom may it pleaſe God long to preſerve*) *and by conſequence againſt our Peace, Liberty, and Religion, and the Welfare of* Europe.

It was at firſt deſign'd for a Sermon, and in particular for the Day of Thankſgiving *to Almighty God for that Diſcovery; to which I intended it ſhould have been ſomewhat more expreſly accomodated in an Application at the End: To be ſure, the beſt way of expreſſing our Thankfulneſs to Almighty God for having ſo wonderfully, again, preſerved our Good* KING, *is to ſtudy and practice all that Duty which God requires we ſhould pay to the* KING. *But having had no opportunity to uſe the Diſcourſe in that way, by reaſon of my uncertain Circumſtances at preſent, I have reſolv'd thus to Publiſh it.*

Thus it came to paſs that it is in ſuch a Method: And the Duty is here Stated and Urg'd (as becomes a Sermon) from the Intimations of Holy Scripture concerning it; and the whole Diſcourſe is chiefly grounded upon Principles of Religion. Being, then, after this manner at firſt compoſed, I was willing to let it go with this Character; Becauſe the greateſt Reverence and Regard is certainly due to Religion, and to what is firmly and neceſſarily connected with the Principles and Precepts of it: All That *therefore may, with great Reaſon, have a mighty force, and power upon Men. I heartily pray that this Diſcourſe may, as much as is neceſſary, revive this Happy and Important Inſtance of Religious Practice amongſt us, to the Honour of our Holy Religion, the Obtaining the Divine Favour and Bleſſings upon the Nation, and the Promoting the Tranquillity, and Proſperity of our Good* KING *and his People. To which Ends I am ſure this Practice will mightily conduce.*

THE HONOUR Due to the Civil Magistrate.

1 Pet. 2. 17. later part.
Honour the King.

ALL the Rules of Religion are design'd to promote the Happiness of Mankind; and this we may very reasonably believe of them, since they were all contriv'd by that Good, and Just, and Wise Being who created us. Those Laws which tend to form us into orderly Societies, and direct the Behaviour of Men towards one another, if they were universally observ'd would certainly produce all that Advantage and Happiness which can be deriv'd from Society, and Communion with one another. While we perform what is made our Duty towards other Men, this is not only for their Good and Advantage, but tends to our own too. As it is for the benefit of the World that the Great Universal Governour, the Lord of Hosts, has appointed Governments among Men, and this, as the Apostle says, is *an Ordinance of God for Good*; so 'tis for the Benefit of the World that those Governments be duly Honour'd and Obey'd. This is not only to the Advantage of those that govern, but also to theirs who are govern'd. And, most certainly, a Man may,

out of Love to his Country, and from a hearty Concern for the Welfare even of the People urge them, as the Apoſtle in our Text. does, to *Honour the King*.

I ſhall therefore in this Diſcourſe propoſe *what Honour muſt be paid to the King: and offer thoſe Arguments which ought to induce us to it.*

We have in this Text an evident and expreſs Comand to *Honour the King*: By the *King* is meant the Perſon or Perſons who bear and execute the ſupream governing Authority of whatever Nation. The Precept here *ſuppoſes* a ſingle Perſon, becauſe the People whom the Apoſtle wrote to were under ſuch a ſort of Government; but it does *not* at all *oblige* or *require* that all Government ſhould be manag'd by a ſingle Perſon.

The Duty of Subjects to the King or Governour is comprehended here under the ſame Word which directs the Behaviour of Children towards their Parents in the fifth Commandment: Of which Command this Precept in our Text is a Branch. The *Septuagint* tranſlate the Hebrew Word in that Command by the ſame Greek Word which the Apoſtle uſes here: And the Apoſtle *Paul* expreſſes that which is required by the Fifth Command, by the ſame Word which the *Septuagint* uſe, in *Eph.* 6. 2. From what is requir'd, then, in ſeveral Places of Scripture to be paid by Children to their Parents, we may learn how the Civil Magiſtrate is to be Honour'd: And as Children muſt reverence and reſpect, muſt love and obey, muſt aſſiſt, and cheriſh their Parents, as there is occaſion, ſo muſt Subjects demean themſelves towards their Prince. It ſeems very well ſaid by ſome Learned Men, That there is a peculiar Fitneſs and Propriety of Speech in uſing the Word *Honour* in that Command rather than *Love* or *Fear*, though our Parents are to be lov'd, and alſo reverenced or feared: Becauſe, ſay they, He that *Loves*, does not always reverence and obſerve; And he that *Fears* does not always Love; but he that *Honours* doth both Reverence and Love. It is the beſt general Account, then, that we can give of the Meaning and Extent of this Precept to ſay, It includes all that which a reverential, reſpectful Love, or a kind and loving Reverence does require, and would exerciſe it ſelf by.

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This I ſhall now repreſent, as well as I can ſo briefly do it, in the following Particulars.

1 *The Subjects muſt acknowledge and allow all that Authority and Power in the Prince which of Right belongs to him.* This, I think, is of it ſelf very evident to be included in the Command to *Honour the King*. And that it does belong to it, *Solomon* intimates in thoſe Words, *My Son fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change, Prov.* 24. 21. We muſt neither in Principle deny, nor in Practice oppoſe or contradict, nor any ways endeavour to undermine or leſſen the Authority which belongs to the Governour. We muſt treat him with Reſpect as a Superiour, and prefer him and his Intereſts before our ſelves, and our own. Every Subject muſt eſteem him ſuperiour to himſelf; therefore all muſt eſteem him ſuperiour to all. If he be higher than every Part of the Community beſide himſelf, he is higher than the whole. It is a diſhonourable Opinion of the Governour to account him a Servant of the People. Though a good Prince will (as we to our Comfort find at preſent) entirely give up himſelf to promote the Happineſs of the People under him, as if he were their Servant; yet no good Subject who duly reverences the King will account him ſo. *His Servants we are to whom we Obey:* If he then be a Servant to the People he is bound to obey them, and then they are ſuperiour to him, not he to them. But this is a Contradiction to Authority and Government: To govern is the Office of a Superiour, and the Exerciſe of Authority, but a Servant, as ſuch, is ſubject to Authority, and does not bear it: They who would have the Prince accounted the common Servant would themſelves be eſteem'd the uncontroulable Maſters of the People when they are but in the Service of the Prince: According to the true Character of Pride, which is always diſpoſed to deny and with-hold the Honour due to another, and to aſſume alſo more than is due to it ſelf.

And if the Honouring of the Governour requires that we do aſcribe and yield to him all that Authority and Power which of Right belongs to him; it manifeſtly forbids all Endeavour to make it leſs than it is. As due Reverence and Love muſt give all

that Authority which the Law and Conſtitution of the Government allows; ſo it muſt be far from endeavouring that this ſhould allow leſs than it does. It is Irreverence to invade his Right againſt Law, and alſo to invade the Law it ſelf which eſtabliſhes it. There is in both theſe things an Oppoſition to his Authority, and a manifeſt Contradiction to the Subjects Duty: They both proceed from an irreverent, undutiful and rebellious Diſpoſition of Mind. The one Sort of Wickedneſs is like that of a Thief or Robber, who deprives a Man of the Poſſeſſion of his own: The other is that which the Holy Scripture *curſes* under the Name of *Removing a Neighbour's Land-mark.* And it is very evident that this Wickedneſs is the worſt of the two, and much the greater Wrong to a Neighbour. The former invades the Poſſeſſion, this the Right; the one takes away the preſent Uſe, the other endeavours to deprive him of the Uſe of it for ever: The one takes but the Crop, or a Part of it, but the other takes away the Land too. Nor does it at all leſſen the Guilt of this later Caſe, that the Conſent of the Prince is gain'd to the Diminution of his Authority. There may be ſuch a thing as a forced conſtrain'd Conſent; as when a Man invaded by two Evils, one of which he muſt needs ſuffer, therefore chuſes the leaſt. A Prince may be brought into ſuch Straits as to find it neceſſary to let go a Part that he may not loſe the whole. But it is a guilty thing to impoſe upon him in ſuch a Neceſſity. As it is an Injuſtice to impoſe upon the Neceſſity or Ignorance of an equal or inferiour Neighbour in our Dealings with him: So 'tis Injuſtice together with Irreverence to impoſe thus upon the Neceſſities of a Superiour. But eſpecially is it guilty to *bring* the Prince under ſuch Neceſſity, and then to make uſe of it againſt him, which is the uſual Method of thoſe who ſeek to undermine and leſſen his Authority. Their Policy is, to find out Ways to bring him to the Danger of loſing his Crown, perhaps to a foreign Enemy, and then to with-hold the Aſſiſtance neceſſary to the Defence of it unleſs he will part with ſome of the Jewels of it to them, which is certainly contrary to the Honouring of the King.

In due Reverence and Honour of the King we muſt aſcribe and yield to him all that Power and Authority which is his Right and Due: And we muſt be directed to determine what is ſo by the Law and Conſtitution of the Government we are under, which is as it were the *Land-mark* or Boundary of Right between one and another through the whole Community: And to know what the Law and Conſtitution allows, we muſt learn this from thoſe who are Profeſſors of, and Learned in the Laws. And if they happen to differ in their Opinions of the matter, ſo as to aſcribe ſome of them more, and ſome leſs Authority and Power to the Prince; a reverent and dutiful Diſpoſition of Mind, which is deſirous to give all that is due, will follow thoſe who aſcribe the more: But thoſe who want a due Reverence for the Prince, and are rather deſirous to yield him as little Authority as they can, will be ſure to follow thoſe that aſcribe the leſs: Which is certainly a Tranſgreſſion of our Duty in this Matter, and that which no tender Conſciences will allow.

2. *To Honour the King or Governing Power includes and requires Obedience and Subjection to his Laws.* If we own his Authority in Word and Principle but do not obey his Laws we deny it in Practice. This therefore muſt needs be included in the due Honour and Reverence of him. As it is an Exerciſe of Authority to make Laws, ſo 'tis an Inſtance of acknowledging that Authority to obey, and be ſubject to them. We are bound to this by the Law of God which ſays *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Powers, Rom.* 13.

If his Laws are manifeſtly contrary to the Law of God, and ſo they cannot be actually obey'd; yet we muſt preſerve a humble and ſubmiſſive Diſpoſition, and quietly ſuffer the Penalties which are impoſed upon us by Law. This is that which the Apoſtle *Peter* commands, 1 *Pet.* 4.15. *Let none of you ſuffer as an Evil Doer or as a Buſie Body in other Mens Matters, but if a Man ſuffer as a Chriſtian let him not be aſham'd.* The Apoſtle intimates there would be occaſion for them to ſuffer as Chriſtians, or meerly for being ſuch; which could come to paſs by no Law but a very contrary one to the Law of God: And he exhorts them, however, to ſuffer meekly and patiently, if this ſhould be their Caſe, according to the Example

Example of our Maſter Jeſus. And if we muſt patiently and quietly bear the Penalty of evil Laws, this forbids the doing any thing contrary to the Reverence and Honour of the Prince to get rid of thoſe Laws. It forbids the murmuring againſt him, the reviling of the Magiſtrate, the Endeavour to leſſen his Reputation and Eſteem among the People, and the making Parties againſt him in order to byaſs and conſtrain him to alter thoſe Laws: This is the Spirit of Faction which is undutiful, diſobedient and rebellious. If the Prince cannot be fairly and dutifully perſwaded, the Subject muſt not endeavour to force him, to alter even an unjuſt and wicked Law.

Without doubt the Magiſtrate has Power to make Laws in matters left indifferent, and which are not expreſly and particularly determin'd in the Law of God. All the beſt and moſt religious Governments of the World have underſtood ſo, and practiſed accordingly; and it is a new and falſe Opinion which holds the contrary. If the Magiſtrate can command nothing but what is commanded in the Law of God he can make no Laws at all, has no Legiſlative Power, but all he has to do is to enforce and put in Execution the Laws of God. This Principle certainly takes from him part of his Authority and Right: And it is very apt in its Nature and Tendency to rob him of the reſt too. It is commonly ſeen lodg'd in a proud and diſobedient Spirit: It makes Subjects more ready to diſpute than to obey. It eaſily finds Pretences to refuſe Obedience, and ſo encourages to refuſe it whenever a Man's Luſt or Humour, or ill-placed Intereſt inclines him to do ſo. It requires the Magiſtrate to make Laws, not according to the Light and Wiſdom and Juſtice or Goodneſs of his own Conſcience; but will have them made according to the Darkneſſes and Miſtakes, the Self-Love, the Malice, and Perverſeneſs of theirs. It is eager and fierce for a great Liberty of Conſcience to be allow'd it ſelf, but will allow none to the Governour. It is a very common Effect of this Principle in Men that it with-holds them from Subjection and Obedience to the Magiſtrate in many things which are commanded by the Law of God. As it is no wonder if Evil produces Evil and an Errour betrays a Man into a Sin. Let us know that while

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we are mightily afraid of obeying the Magiſtrate too far, we are very liable to be betray'd, by the Subtilty of the Tempter and the deceitful Wickedneſs of our own Hearts, into the not obeying ſo far as we ought.

Under this Head is included the Obligation to pay readily and faithfully the Taxes, Contributions, and Cuſtoms which are eſtabliſht by Law. This our Saviour enjoyns when he ſays, *Render to* Ceſar *the things which are* Ceſar's: And the Apoſtle in like manner requires that we pay *Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Cuſtom to whom Cuſtom,* as well as *Honour to whom Honour is due.* We muſt obey theſe Laws as well as any other: And ſhould account theſe of ſingular and eminent Importance; becauſe theſe provide the neceſſary Supports of the Government, and the Sinews as it were of all Adminiſtrations, and Actions for the publick Welfare.

3. *The Honour of the King requires and includes a candid and reſpectful Cenſure of his Government and Adminiſtrations.* We are bound to put as good an Interpretation as the thing will bear upon the Actions of every Neighbour. Juſtice requires this, becauſe 'tis according to that great and excellent Rule of Equity, *That we do to others as we would they ſhould do unto us.* And true Love or Charity requires it too; which is always ready to think as well of every one as it can. Therefore the Apoſtle gives it this excellent Character (1 *Cor.* 13.) *Charity thinketh no Evil.* A true Reverence for any Perſon, too, will make us think reſpectfuly of his Actions; it will be ready to Honour them as well as the Perſon that does them. And the Honour of his Actions is to account them Juſt and Wiſe and Good. This therefore we ought to believe of the Adminiſtrations of the Magiſtrate, when there is not very evident Appearance of the contrary; this we ought to believe always when they are capable of ſuch an Interpretation. We muſt neither haſtily condemn his Actions nor groundleſly ſuſpect his Deſigns. Theſe things the Scripture evidently binds upon us by ſuch Directions as theſe; *Curſe not the King no not in Thought: Thou ſhalt not curſe the Gods nor revile the Ruler of thy People* (*Exod.* 22. 28.) which Place of Scripture the Apoſtle *Paul* enforces (*Acts* 23. 5.) when he confeſſes his Errour in having ſpoken too ſharply and irreverently

verently of the High Prieſt, before he was aware, and ſays, *It is written thou ſhalt not ſpeak evil of the Ruler of thy People.* The Apoſtle *Jude* puts it among ſeveral very ill Characters of a ſort of Men, which infeſted and diſparaged the Church in his time, that they did *ſpeak evil of Dignities.* It is contrary to Reverence and Love to invent Diſparagements of the Magiſtrates Actions, to ſtudy to find Faults in them: And it is the ſame ill Diſpoſition full of Malice and Pride to be very ready to receive ſuch Imputations, to ſeek and hunt after them and take Pleaſure to hear them: And it is much more ſo to ſpread and publiſh diſhonourable Reflections, to foment and cheriſh Suſpicions and Jealouſies in others: As we ought to reverence the Prince our ſelves, ſo we ought to promote the Reverencing of him by others.

The due Honour and Reverence of the Prince requires that we do acquieſce in his Adminiſtrations when we do not know the particular Grounds and Reaſons of them: It may be many times unfit that the People ſhould know all the Reaſons of State upon which the Governour acts, eſpecially when it may be ſuppoſed there are ſome Enemies of the Government among the People; and no Man is capable to make a right Judgment of an Action when he does not know the Reaſons and Circumſtances of it.

We muſt not preſently condemn thoſe Undertakings of the Prince as fooliſh or ill managed which do not ſucceed well. Succeſs is in the Hand of God and he gives it where and when he pleaſes: And, to teach Men to acknowledg and depend upon his Providence, he ſometimes gives it to weak and fooliſh Endeavours and Deſigns, and ſometimes again he denies it to the beſt and wiſeſt. It is often ſeen (as the wiſe Man ſays) that *the Race is not to the ſwift, nor the Battel to the ſtrong, nor Bread to the wiſe, nor Favour to Men of Skill.* When the Undertakings of the Governour for the publick Good have not their deſir'd Succeſs, it is more juſt and reaſonable that the People blame themſelves, than that they ſhould blame or cenſure him: They may juſtly ſuſpect their Offences of Almighty God do provoke him to give Diſappointments to wiſe and well manag'd Deſigns, when theſe do not evidently appear to be otherwiſe. And I doubt not it may be ſaid the Sins of the People may occaſion

occaſion the Errour of the Prince when he does err: To help themſelves therefore, in both caſes, their beſt Courſe is to abſtain from murmuring againſt the Prince, and humble themſelves before God, and to ſearch out and forſake the Evil of their Doings. Their irreverent and undutiful Behaviour to the Governour under ſuch Circumſtances would but add Sin to Sin, and be likely to pull down upon them more of the Wrath of God.

Further, As the Honour of the Prince forbids that we deſpiſe or condemn him for ill Succeſſes, ſo it forbids us to envy or grow jealous of him for great and happy ones. True Reverence and Love wiſhes his Proſperity, and delights in the Encreaſe of his Reputation and Glory: But theſe are the common Practices of proud Men, and thoſe that are rebelliouſly diſpoſed; if the Prince does not ſucceed well, to deſpiſe and condemn him, and if he does, then to grow envious and jealous of him. It is utterly contrary to our Duty to entertain groundleſs Jealouſies and Suſpicions of the Governour, or to think that if he grows great enough to do Miſchief, therefore he will do it. It was the barbarous Injuſtice of the Common-wealth of *Athens*, that if any excellent Perſon among them had recommended himſelf to the general Eſteem and Love of his Country by great and brave Actions done to the Honour, and the Intereſt of his Country, they would reward his good Services by baniſhing him from his Country. They *would* fear he *would* do harm when they thought he might have *Power* to do it, though he had done nothing but Good. And that *he* might not wrong his Country, *they* would be before hand with him, and would wrong *him*. This becomes no Policy but that of wretched Heathens who knew not the excellent Rules of Juſtice and Charity which our Religion affords, and is the groſſeſt Contradiction that can be to the Rules of Chriſtianity. This bids us not *return evil for evil* receiv'd; and therefore much rather requires alſo that we do not *reſiſt* or repel *evil with evil*; much rather then muſt it further require that none do ſeek to repel the Evil which is but only ſuſpected, by doing that which is certainly evil. But theſe Men are for doing Injury to prevent their receiving and ſuffering ſuch Injury as they unjuſtly and groundleſly fear. Thus they

wrong the Prince while they unjuſtly fear him; they unjuſtly hate, of neceſſity, while they unjuſtly fear him; and they unjuſtly undermine his Power to prevent his doing Miſchief while they unjuſtly fear he will do Miſchief: Such a Heap of Wickedneſs and Guilt does cauſeleſs Jealouſie load it ſelf withall.

It is a certain Sign and Diſcovery of an ill Man to be full of groundleſs Jealouſies and Suſpicions of others. The common Cauſe of ſuch things where there is no good Appearance to ground them upon is only this; that ſuch Men are conſcious to themſelves they ſhould be what they ſuſpect another will prove in the ſame Circumſtances: They evidently betray their own Heart, and Thoughts in the Caſe, and ſhew that they do not think themſelves to have Honeſty and Vertue enough to avoid ſuch Wickedneſs in ſuch Temptations and Opportunities. And though they make mighty Pretences, and a great Shew, of Watchfulneſs and Care for the Publick Welfare, they give all wiſe and good Men Ground to be very jealous of them, and to wiſh none ſuch may ever have any Share in the Government.

4. *The Honour of the King requires and includes the yielding him readily all the Aſſiſtance we can in his Adminiſtration and Government.* Every one muſt endeavour to promote his Affairs and Undertakings according as their Stations and Conditions will allow. We ſhould conſider him engag'd in ſeeking the publick Welfare which certainly deſerves, and we may eaſily believe will conſtantly rquire the publick Aſſiſtance. As Reverence and Love will charitably believe his Adminiſtrations and Deſigns aim at the publick Good, ſo it muſt needs be that ſuch a Diſpoſition will be ready and forward to aſſiſt and promote them, it will do it very freely, and with a good will, and therefore with all its Power. But Jealouſie and Pride ſet themſelves to entangle his Affairs, and fruſtrate his Deſigns and Endeavours. They are glad to have ſomething like a ſeeming Ground to revile and reproach him, and of a Colour for ſpiteful Accuſations and Slanders; and becauſe they have a mind to blame him they ſet themſelves all they can to hinder him. When they ſlowly afford him the neceſſary Aſſiſtance, they accuſe him as the Cauſe why the Work is no

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ſooner done. They will not do their Duty, but ſtudy Excuſes to put it off or delay it, that they may diſable him for the doing what is his, and then accuſe him as weak, or negligent, or ill-deſigning.

If all are bound in their ſeveral Places to aſſiſt the Governour as well as they can, then are they alſo bound to eſteem, and aſſiſt his Officers and Inſtruments, and thoſe that aſſiſt him. He that loves and performs his Duty himſelf, in his Place, will be well-pleaſed with another for that he does ſo too. But they that hate and deſign againſt the Prince, will alſo ſet themſelves againſt his Inſtruments, and ſuch as ſerve and aſſiſt his Undertakings. Thoſe that ſet themſelves againſt his Officers and Miniſters, immediately, do many times ultimately deſign againſt him: They are their Enemies becauſe they ſerve him faithfully and to good Effect. They would not have his Undertakings proſper, and therefore hate and oppoſe thoſe who endeavour that they may proſper: And that none may help him they will induſtriouſly find out Ways to diſcourage thoſe that do, and to diſable thoſe that would do it. Some ſet themſelves againſt Miniſters and thoſe that aſſiſt the Prince out of Envy againſt them, or out of Covetouſneſs or Pride. They hate to ſee others have the Profits, or the Honour of ſerving the Prince which they would fain poſſeſs themſelves: And the Humour comes to that Degree of Wickedneſs that they had rather ſuch good Service, as others do, ſhould not be done at all than that their Neighbour, and not themſelves, ſhould have the doing of it, which certainly demonſtrates they have more Self-love, than they have of Reverence for the Prince or Love to their Country.

We ought to aſſiſt the Government all we can, though we could expect no particular Advantage to our ſelves from what we do: Contenting our ſelves with our Share in the publick good which is promoted thereby. We ſhould aſſiſt the Governour to our own Loſs, if that Loſs be but ſmall, and what may be eaſily born, though we are not particularly commanded to it by the Prince, when the Exigence of publick Affairs ſeems to require it, or the Advantage to the publick would be very great, which would come by ſuch Aſſiſtance. A Certainty of a ſmall

Loſs ſhould not diſcourage a Man from publick Service, much leſs may a meer Poſſibility do it, or a very diſtant Probability of ſuffering it. And then the meer Love of our own Eaſe or the Deſire to attend only our own particular Affairs will not excuſe us from the Service of the Publick and the Prince. When the Prince needs our Aſſiſtance, and commands it, no Hazard that we ſhall run, or Loſs that we may ſuſtain by it will allow us to with-hold it. Therefore 'tis the conſtant Stile of good Subjects when they profeſs a due Readineſs to aſſiſt the Prince, that they will ſtand by him with their *Lives* and *Fortunes*.

Theſe are ſome and perhaps the chief of thoſe Matters which are contained in this Precept in our Text, to *Honour the King*. Now this excellent Precept, though, like all the reſt of the divine Commands, it is wiſe and juſt and good in it ſelf, yet it meets with as much Oppoſition and Averſeneſs to it in the Heart of Man as any beſides. It is in the Nature of all Wickedneſs to decline, and abhor Government and Subjection. It naturally ſays *who is Lord over us*, and hates to be controul'd: So that 'tis inſeparably belonging to the Corruption and Pravity of humane Nature to be loath to be governed. Beſides, Pride is the moſt common Vice of corrupted Nature, and that which is for the moſt part, deareſt to it, and the laſt that is cured. And Pride loves, indeed, to receive Honour, but does not care to give any. It makes a Man think he never *receives* enough; but it makes him think, too, that the leaſt Meaſure is enough to *give*: It is no wonder, then, if Humane Nature needs to be exhorted to ſuch a Duty as this.

I proceed, then, to the ſecond Part of the Diſcourſe propos'd; which is to urge the Practice and Performance of this Duty, as it has been ſtated: And there are theſe Conſiderations following which require it of us, and ought to move us to it.

1. We muſt know that *Magiſtracy and Government is an undoubted Ordinance and Inſtitution of Almighty God*. It is the Will and Appointment of Heaven that all Nations ſhould have ſome Government and Order among them: That ſome one, or more, ſhould have Authority to rule, and the reſt ſhould reverence, love, and obey

obey that Authority. He has eſtabliſht this Order to enforce upon Mankind the Laws of Piety and Vertue: To Influence towards the keeping up thoſe Vertues in the World, which he requires Men ſhould glorifie, and honour, and acknowledg him by; and thoſe which are neceſſary to render them eaſie, uſeful, and comfortable to each other. And he knows very well how neceſſary ſome Government and Authority among Men is to theſe Purpoſes: That without this Mankind would be as wild as the Savage Beaſts, and, perhaps, as little regard Him, and be as miſchievous to one another as they. It may be reckoned a reaſonable Confirmation of this, that Magiſtracy and Government is an Ordinance and Inſtitution of Heaven, that we find ſuch a thing ſtill maintain'd and kept up in the World notwithſtanding the common Unwillingneſs of Mankind to obey, and be rul'd. Nothing is more evident than a univerſal Unwillingeſs to ſubmit to Government, and be confin'd by Laws. It is not a new but an old thing, and that which has always been, for the Subject Part of a Nation to be apt to grudge at and envy the Authority of thoſe that govern, and often to wiſh and, as far as they durſt, to endeavour to make it leſs. There have been always ſome proud, ambitious and covetous Men among them who would fain have a Share in the Government for the Profit and Honour of it to themſelves, and who have wheedled the People to their Side by finding mighty Faults in the Governours, promiſing they would govern them better, and eſpecially would give them more Liberty: And 'tis an old and a common thing that they get ſome Fools to believe them, and to think them mighty Lovers of their Country, and the People, becauſe they cry up Liberty much; and to account them mighty good Men becauſe they find great Fault with others. The Hiſtories of all Nations are not without frequent Inſtances of Deſigns and Struggles of this Nature: And theſe things are very pernicious to Governments, and tend to overthrow and deſtroy them: Yet is Government and Magiſtracy maintain'd in the World. It cannot be, certainly, that it could ſubſiſt againſt ſo great and conſtant an Oppoſition, if it were not ſupported by the Wiſdom and Power of Heaven; If there

there were not the Force of a Divine Inſtitution, and a conſtant Care and Application of the Divine Providence to maintain it.

But I account the Authority of Holy Scripture a better Proof in Matters of Religion than any Reaſonings of Men: Let us therefore take notice of what that ſays to this Matter; and perhaps there is not any thing more expreſly taught us there than this. The Apoſtle *Paul* expreſly calls Government an *Ordinance of God*, Rom. 13. 2. and ſays, *Whoſoever reſiſteth the Power*, or oppoſes Government, *reſiſteth the Ordinance of God*: And *they that reſiſt ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation*; they commit herein a damnable Sin. God himſelf ſays, *By me Kings reign*, *Prov.* 8. 15. When we are commanded to *ſubmit to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake*, and to be ſubject and obedient to the Civil Magiſtrate *for Conſcience Sake*; Theſe things ſpeak it a Law of Heaven that Honour and Obedience ſhould be paid to the higher Powers, that is, to thoſe who are in Authority among Men, and ſo do conclude that Magiſtracy and Government is an Ordinance of God. We ought to look upon Magiſtrates as the ſubordinate Officers of the great and univerſal Governour of the World; of him who is *Head over all things to the Church*, and who has *all Power given him both in Heaven and Earth*. He has an unqueſtionable Authority to Rule, and therefore has Right to ſet up what Officers under him he pleaſes to govern the World by; he can communicate Authority and Power, and that which they act by is his, and is deriv'd from him, if all Power be his. This the Apoſtle *Paul* moſt evidently teaches us, when He calls the Governour *The Miniſter of God*, *Rom.* 13. 4. And the Apoſtle *Peter* urges Chriſtians to ſubmit to ſuch *as to them that are ſent by God for the Puniſhment of evil doers and the Praiſe of them that do well.*

Now this is certainly a good Foundation and Argument for Honouring and Obeying the Higher Powers. This makes Authority to be a Divine and Sacred thing: And makes it Rebellion againſt God to Rebel againſt the Magiſtrate. We ſhake off the Divine Authority, and refuſe the Dominion of Heaven when we deſpiſe and refuſe the Governments on Earth: We break his

his Law, we inſult his Officers and Vicegerents, thoſe that do in a peculiar manner bear his Image and repreſent Him to the World, when we ſlight and oppoſe their Authority. Therefore is this commonly found in thoſe who have not a due Reverence for Almighty God himſelf, but have loſt this either by Profaneneſs, or by a fond Conceit of their extraordinary Favour with God, and a habit contracted thereupon of rude Familiarity with Him. Our Saviour ſays to a ſort of Officers under Him, which undoubtedly ought to be reckoned Inferiour to theſe, that which therefore we may conclude is with more force and reaſon Applicable to theſe; *He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me.* If we deſpiſe and affront his Vicegerents this riſes to an affront and contempt of Himſelf. So abſurd and fooliſh is the pretence of oppoſing the Civil Magiſtrate to promote the Kingdom of Chriſt; and to rebel againſt his Laws and Authority becauſe we will own no King but Jeſus Chriſt. He that oppoſes the Civil Magiſtrate does therein oppoſe the Kingdom of Chriſt which he pretends to advance, for he oppoſes the Officers and Adminiſtrators of that Kingdom. And tho' this Principle and Practice may be ſometimes found together with a mighty and a fierce Zeal againſt Popery, it is a deplorable and groſs Ignorance, at beſt, which makes theſe two things conſiſt in the ſame Perſons: For this Principle is in truth, the grand Character of Popery properly ſo call'd: It is in meaning, and conſtant Effect, where it can have its Natural Effect, juſt the ſame with that which ſubjects the State to the Church, and the Civil Magiſtrate to him or them that Govern the Clergy: And which is a direct contradiction to that Scripture that ſays *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the Higher Powers* Rom. 13. When the Apoſtle ſays *every ſoul* he certainly deſigns to exempt none, whether a ſingle Perſon, or an Aſſembly of Men.

2. Another Argument for the Reverence and Honour of the King may be this: *The particular Interpoſition and Concern of the Divine Providence in ſetting up whatever Governors there are in all Nations.* It muſt indeed be granted, That the firſt Governors in the World were Parents and Maſters, who being Heads of particular

ticular Families Governed the Deſcendents and Servants of their Families. But it does not appear that this Form of Government is any where particularly required by Almighty God: Or that the World, having alter'd and left this Form is bound to be crumbled again into ſuch little Societies and Governments, that it may return to its Primitive Model. As it is very evident that this ſort of Government was early alter'd in many Places, ſo we have no reaſon to think that this might not Lawfully be done, when the Exigences of the little Communities, and the Ends of Government require it. It is a Maxim muſt be allow'd that they who have Authority can give it, and therefore they may Communicate or Surrender it. They who were Heads of Families might, by mutual Conſent, join many Families together for the greater ſtrength of the Whole, and perhaps other advantages, and might Rule them in one Body by a Common Vote as a Senate; and this might be a very Lawful Foundation of an Ariſtocracy or the Government of the Nobility, who doubtleſs are the Deſcendents of theſe Heads of Families, that were the firſt Governors of the World. Again: Theſe Heads of ſeveral Families might alſo agree to chuſe out one among their Number, who had very eminent Qualifications for Government, and reſign their Authorities to him, and ſo make him Sole Governor of the Community, ſubjecting both themſelves and their Families to him. Some might conſent to this out of the Love of Eaſe and Tranquility, and to deliver themſelves from the moſt troubleſome Office in the World, the Office of Governing; others might do it out of Deference to that Perſons ſingular worth or Fitneſs to Govern; or they might all Conſent to this in a thankful acknowledgment of ſome ſingular Deliverance or Benefit they had received, by the Courage and Conduct of that Perſon, and with the hazard of his Life and Fortunes for their ſakes. And their Conſent and Reſignation to him might be a Lawful Foundation of a Monarchy or the Government of One. And if that Perſon ſo ſet up ſhould forſake them and abandon his Government they might as Lawfully chuſe out another of their Company as if he were Dead: As Modern Hiſtory tells us the Nobility of *Poland* did, when the Duke of

Anjou

Anjou their Elected King forſook them, to take Poſſeſſion of (what he accounted his Hereditary Right) the Crown of *France*. After ſome experience of this thing, and when they found that upon the Death of every Monarch, as they were at liberty to chuſe again, ſo in the chuſing of another they were apt, by reaſon of Competitions, to fall into Feuds and Animoſities among themſelves, and perhaps into War and Confuſion to the great danger of diſſolving their Community: They might Lawfully, to prevent this, Chuſe, not only the Perſon but, the Family alſo, ſucceſſively, to Rule over them; As the *Iſraelites* ſaid to *Gideon* when he had with great Bravery Delivered them from the Oppreſſion of the *Midianites*, *Rule thou over us and thy ſon, and thy ſon's ſon.* And this might be the juſt Foundation of what we call a Succeſſive or Hereditary Monarchy. It muſt be granted too, that if that Family ſhould come to be extinct, they might Lawfully Transfer and Commit the Authority to another Family. Or if any Governor of that Family ſhould, before his Death, forſake his Government, The Nobility might Juſtly chuſe and ſet up another of that Family to Govern. Thus they would ſerve the preſſing neceſſity of the Community, which muſt for its own Welfare be Governed, and would do Juſtice to that Family, according to their Right by the Eſtabliſhed Law among them.

I ſhall not trouble this Diſcourſe with the Queſtion whether they that have no Authority can give any or not, becauſe that is not our Caſe. 'Tis certain, The Governments of the World are now Adminiſtred in various Forms, and all Nations have often chang'd their Governors, as the Mortality of Men, and the various Mutations of the World have made it neceſſary for them to do: And very often by Force and Conſtraint has the Governor and Governments perhaps of moſt, if not all, Nations been Chang'd, and all things have been ordered by the abſolute Will of a Conqueror. There is not perhaps any one Governor or Government in the World that is Deſcended by an uninterrupted Succeſſion from the Patriarchal Governmenr; to be ſure there is none that can make out ſuch a Succeſſion.

For us it is enough who are Subjects, That whatever the form of the Government is which we are under, and whoever are the Governors of any People, the Holy Scripture ſeems to teach Men to ſubmit to them as appointed and ſet up by God himſelf. This is certainly ſaid, there, of ſome of them who came by the Authority they poſſeſt in ſome of the worſt, and unjuſteſt ways. *Jeroboam* was born a Subject of the Houſe of *David*, on which the Crown of *Iſrael* was Entail'd by the expreſs appointment of God himſelf: He had no ground to pretend to it as a Deſcendent of that Houſe; but he Rebell'd againſt his King, and was ſet up and made King over a part of *Iſrael* by others of his Fellow-Subjects, who did this in Rebellion too. For tho' we find indeed this event was foretold to *Jeroboam*, yet we do no where find that the People had God's Commandment to chuſe him for their King, and throw off the Houſe of *David*. Therefore when he and they were charg'd with Rebellion by *Abijah* the King of *Judah* 2 *Chron.* 13. they could not ſay for themſelves they had the Command of God for what was done: Nor could he pretend as much Right to ſet up himſelf againſt the Houſe of *David*, as *David* had to ſet up himſelf againſt the Houſe of *Saul*. And God aſſiſted the Houſe of *David* to chaſtiſe him, and the People, for their Rebellion, with the ſlaughter of five hundred thouſand Men. Yet to this Man does God by his Prophet ſay (1 *Kin.* 14. 7.) *I exalted thee among the People and made thee Prince over my People Iſrael.* Thoſe who gain'd their Dominions by Conqueſt ſubduing the Rightful Governors and their People with them, are yet ſaid to be ſet up over thoſe Kingdoms by God himſelf: So he tells *Nebuchadnezzar* (Dan. 2. 21. by that Prophet) that *the God of Heaven had given him a Kingdom, Power, Strength, and Glory.* God had given him the Kingdom, and the extent of Dominion which he had: Accordingly the People of *Judah* were commanded to ſubmit quietly to him as their King when God had made him their Conquerour. So again, of *Cyrus* a Heathen Prince and a great Conqueror God ſpeaks and calls him his *Anointed* and ſays *he had ſtrengthned his hand to ſubdue Nations before him*, Eſa. 45. 1. It is often ſaid of him in Scripture, that 'tis He who diſpoſes of the

the Thrones, and Kingdoms, and Authorities of the World. The Prophet *Daniel* teaches us that *He removeth Kings, and ſetteth up Kings*, Dan. 2. 21. and again, that *the moſt High ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and giveth it to whomſoever he will*, Dan. 4. 25. The Great Governor of the World is abſolute Lord of all things; He is King of Kings, and has Right to change theſe who are his under Officers as He pleaſes: Even as a Prince on Earth can at his pleaſure change his under Officers and Miniſters of State. We muſt then look upon the Governors we are under as thoſe whom Almighty God has provided, for us, as bearing his Authority in that which they have, for all Authority is from Him, and his Inſtitution of Government. This muſt be ſaid of the ſeveral Governors and Forms of Governments in the World; and therefore whoever or whatever, they are, the Subjects muſt Honour and Obey them for his ſake. And this is that which the Apoſtle teaches us in as plain and expreſs words as he can ſpeak it, *Rom.* 13. 1. *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the Higher Powers: For there is no Power but of God: The Powers that are be ordained of God.*

3. This Reverence and Honour of the King or Governor may be juſtly urged from *the great and unſpeakable Benefits of Government to the World.* The Wiſdom and Goodneſs of God has appointed this as a Bleſſing; therefore the Apoſtle ſays of the Magiſtrate that he is the *Miniſter of God for Good.* Without doubt Government is one of the greateſt Favours of Providence to this rude and wicked World. It is certainly that on which all the happineſs and comfort of Society does depend, and by which it is procured and preſerved.

It ſeems as if the World were ſenſible of the Benefits of this; We may obſerve that all the wiſeſt and moſt civilized People have always formed themſelves into a Body under a Government: And that none but the moſt wretchedly Ignorant and Barbarous (if any) are to be found without it. This has obtain'd the Major Vote in all ages, and almoſt the Univerſal conſent; and that (which is very ſtrange) tho all the particulars are naturally loth to be ſubject and govern'd. In truth, every Man would have others govern'd, tho he would not be govern'd himſelf. And tho ſome

mightily cry up Liberty 'tis not a *Common* one which they really design. The Liberty which would give others as much advantage against them, as they would have against others is not for their turn. If their desire were rightly understood it would appear, It is not other mens Liberty they desire but their own only.

It is good Government, and Laws well Executed, which must make the Societies of Men tolerable and useful to each other. Without this, What enormous mischiefs would their extravagant Lusts every day produce? All the World would then be truly in a state of War: Men would like wild Beasts prey upon one another, and the strongest, and the cunningest, would devour and destroy all that they could get under their power. When notwithstanding Laws and Penalties there is so much Wickedness and Mischief done in the World we have reason to believe that much more would be done were it not that a great deal is prevented by them. We may see the necessity of such restraints by the Rapines, the Murders, the Cruelties, the Injuries committed where Men have thrown off all regard to Government and Laws; as in the cases of War, or Rebellion, or when a People are fallen under the Power of a Proud and Furious Conqueror. How many Hundred Thousand of Lives commonly go to wrack? How many Cities are demolish'd? How many Villages plunder'd and burnt? How many Provinces almost depopulated if a War lasts but a few Years? Mankind appear delighted in doing mischief when they can do what they will, and Lawless Power shews how great an Evil it is by the mighty mischiefs it does. Tho Governments cannot prevent but that there will be Wars between Nation and Nation, yet without doubt there is the less War for the Influence of these; and they maintain Order, and Peace, and Tranquility within themselves, whereas there would be no such things in the World if there were no Governments.

Further; As this prevents the Lusts and Wickedness of Men in a great measure from doing Mischief, so it often finds ways to make even such things useful, and like the Art of Medicine turns Poisons into Remedies, it cannot perfectly cure the Wickedness of the World, but it restrains much, and often makes good use of the

the Reſt. The Rewards which are given to Publick Service make the Narrow-ſoul'd Lover of himſelf, who otherwiſe would ſerve no Intereſt but his own, ſet himſelf to do ſome ſervice to the Publick, for the ſake of gaining them. Some Men are handled as we may ſay and made ſerviceable to the State by their covetouſneſs; ſome by their Ambition and Pride: And ſome become of uſe by reaſon of their Luxury and Riot, which yet do uſually make Men good for nothing; If theſe Vices did not bring them into ſome neceſſities and ſtraits their Country would have no ſervice from them nor be ever the better for them. It is by vertue of Government that Men are rewarded with Profits and Honours for Publick Service, and this engages the more of them in it. There can at no time be many found who will, with any trouble or hazard to themſelves at leaſt, ſeek the Intereſt of the Publick, without ſome certain particular advantage to themſelves by it. And we often ſee thoſe who make the greateſt pretences to a Publick Spirit, and Love to their Country, yet caring for no ſervice of it but what they may particularly gain by, or ſuch as by which they hope to get into places of Profit or Honour.

Government is the Bond of Union to a Community: That to which they being all United are thereby United to one another. It is therefore as we may ſay the Baſis or Foundation of their Strength, and their beſt means of Defence againſt the Invaſion of all Foreign Enemies. When the People of *Iſrael* were ordinarily govern'd by the Heads of their particular Tribes and Families apart, they always wanted ſome common Governour to have Power over the whole when they were invaded by any of their Neighbours: And uſually they were greatly diſtreſt till it pleaſed God to raiſe up ſome ſuch Perſon to Deliver them. And we may juſtly believe it was for greater ſafety and ſtrength that the World ſo ſoon left off the narrow ſmall Governments of particular Families, and, by uniting ſeveral of them into one Body, did ſet up larger and National Governments. When the Governor has at his command the Strength, the Wealth, the Induſtry, the Skill, of a great multitude of People the Community is ſo much

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the ſtronger againſt any Enemy. Their union and ſubjection to him is as the ſtring which binds together a bundle of Arrows: So long as that keeps them together no ſtrength can break them, but if that bond be taken away, and the ſtrict Union diſſolv'd it will be eaſie to do it, becauſe they may be ſeparated. What every one is able to do being united in the Prince, as in a common Center, redounds to the Advantage of the Whole. This matter has ſo much Truth in it that our own Nation has, within the compaſs of a few Years, ſeen, even a Lawleſs Uſurping Tyrant making himſelf and the Nation more Formidable abroad, and giving it more Force and Impreſſion upon its Neighbours, than even a Juſt and Lawful Prince can do. Which is evidently come to paſs by this means: He violently made himſelf be Obeyed by the force of Arms, Govern'd by his abſolute Will, and commanded the Aſſiſtance and Strength of the Nation to his own time and meaſure: And ſo he united the Strength of it better than it *will now* be united by Conſent. He Commanded and Forced that Aſſiſtance which a Juſt and Good Prince will, and does, only Ask for, and waits to have it given him, and to come as it will, according to the preſcrib'd Method of our Law and Conſtitution.

Great and many are the Advantages of Government: And this being ſo, we are bound in Gratitude to honour that which is the Cauſe of ſo much good. Even the Self-love in Mankind might reaſonably induce them to this, in Acknowledgment of the Benefits which every particular enjoys from that common Proſperity and Tranquility, which is procur'd and maintain'd by a good Government. To be ſure a publick Spirit, and one that is duly concern'd for the Welfare of his Country, ſuch an one muſt be well diſpoſed to the Performance of this Duty. The Prince that ſets himſelf according to the Ends of Government to promote the Happineſs of his People, or as our Church ſpeaks, ſtudies to preſerve thoſe committed to his Charge in Wealth, Peace and Godlineſs, deſerves the Honour of the whole Community: And when his Undertakings accordingly are for the publick Welfare it were the greateſt Injuſtice to him, and indeed a manifeſt Token

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of the Want of a true Love to our Country, to deny him the utmoſt publick Aſſiſtance that can be afforded, This brings me to the laſt Argument I ſhall urge to enforce this Precept.

4. *Let us all conſpire to pay all due Honour to the King, becauſe without doing ſo, the Benefits of Government can never be attained:* This is of abſolute Neceſſity to the rendring it ſo uſeful and beneficial as it may be, and is deſign'd by Almighty God to be. I do not doubt the Truth of that Maxim in Politicks *Salus Populi eſt ſuprema Lex.* It muſt be true, becauſe the Good and Welfare of the People is the very End of Government: it is appointed of God *for good.* But then, it muſt be underſtood of the Community, not of any private Perſon or particular Party of Men who have perverſly ſo order'd their Intereſts that they are inconſiſtent with thoſe of the reſt of the Community. And we muſt needs allow this to be true too, That *Salus & Honor Principis neceſſaria eſt ſubditorum ſaluti.* A ſteady Reverence and Subjection of the People to the Prince, and their ready Aſſiſtance is abſolutely neceſſary to the Happineſs of the People. What can he do for us if we do not aſſiſt him? He muſt help us by our own Wealth and Strength if it be done at all. As the Governour muſt indeed be wiſe, juſt, and good, and rule according to good Laws: So the People muſt be patient of Government, and muſt readily obey the Prince according to thoſe Laws, or elſe they can never be happy. By maintaining and allowing his Intereſt we maintain our own, and our Duty well paid to him will redound to our own Advantage. If the Head be ſick the Heart muſt be faint, and the whole Body out of Order. And if in the natural Body the fineſt Blood and Spirits be not ſent up to the Head, that cannot diffuſe Life, Senſe and Vigour ſo as it ſhould do to the other Members. So, if the Governour wants his due from the People, they muſt needs want that Benefit and Aſſiſtance which otherwiſe they might have from him. Whoever, then, robs the Governour, robs the People by Conſequence: And they that are Enemies to him are Enemies to their Country. For ſo far as they can leſſen him, and diminiſh his Authority, ſo far they deprive the People of the Advantage which they might have by his

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Government. The weaker he is, the leſs Effect and Influence he muſt needs have towards the Ends and Advantages of Government. And hence it is that the Enemies of their Country, and thoſe pretended Lovers of it who ſet themſelves againſt the Intereſt of the King can for the moſt part very readily concur in the ſame Actions, and purſue the ſame Projects and Deſigns. They both tend whether thinkingly or unthinkingly to the ſame publick Miſchief, and like Lines from different Parts of the Circumference meet in the Center.

It is a falſe Notion, and the moſt unhappy one that a Nation can poſſibly fall into, to imagine, that the Intereſt of the People is one thing, and that of the Prince another. To think that theſe two are like the two Ends of a Ballance, and therefore as one riſes, the other muſt needs be depreſſ'd. We muſt know there is not two but only one Intereſt between the Prince and the People. The Welfare of the Head is the Advantage of the whole Body. And if there be any ſuch Diviſion among the Members as that any one would draw more to its ſelf than is due, or would withold from another what is due to that, this cannot be without ſome Prejudice to the whole. Among the Members indeed ſome are much more important than others, and to with-hold from them threatens the Deſtruction of the Body, ſuch Parts are the Head and other Vitals: Such is the Prince in the Body Politick; he is a vital and important Part and not only neceſſary to the well-being, but even to the Being of the whole Body: Who cannot, therefore, be hurt but the Diſſolution of the Community is endanger'd, nor can he be taken away but the Ruin of the whole is likely to enſue. As therefore a juſt and good Prince will often ſay to his People our Intereſts are inſeparable, and does always think it; So will always good Subjects think the ſame concerning their Prince. If a Prince oppreſſes and deſtroys his People, this is as if a Man ſhould cut off his own Legs with his Hands or one Hand with the other. If the People ſet themſelves againſt the Prince, and deſtroy the Government, this is as if the Hand ſhould cut the Throat, or, if that could be done, ſhould ſeparate the Head from the Body. As our Forms of Proſecuting

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Malefactors reckon a Fact to be committed againſt the Crown and Dignity of the Prince, which was immediately done only againſt the Intereſt and Welfare of ſome particular Subject: So will the Subject if he rightly underſtands himſelf account, That what is attempted or done againſt the Prince is really in its Tendency and Conſequences againſt the Intereſt of the People too.

While we duly Reverence and Honour the Prince, and render to him what is due from Subjects, he will have it in his Power the better to keep us at Peace among our ſelves, to hinder the Subjects from injuring and perſecuting one another, and to force all in their ſeveral places to diſcharge their Duties diligently and faithfully, and be the more uſeful and ſerviceable to the good of the Community. And this muſt alſo render him the better able to Defend us againſt thoſe Forreign Enemies that ſeek our Deſtruction. 'Tis certain that if the People by their ready and generous Aſſiſtance make him great and conſiderable in the World they make themſelves ſo too. If they inable him to do great Actions againſt their Enemies, and thereby raiſe his Honour and Renown they raiſe their own Glory and Renown alſo. All the World knows the Prince in his Perſon is but one, and cannot do any great matters without a great Aſſiſtance from his People, and ſo a large ſhare of the glory of his Actions muſt redound to the People who aſſiſt him to do them. Their Might, their Riches, their Wiſdom and Valour, and their laudable Affection and Eſteem for their Prince will therein glorioufly appear to their Immortal Honour. Which may teach us what to think of thoſe Subjects who care not how Little and Contemptible the Prince and Nation are Abroad, ſo they may but hugg the humble Glory of ſetting themſelves up above their Fellow-Subjects at Home.

If Subjects will ſet themſelves againſt the Intereſt and Authority of the Prince, and grow Diſobedient and Ungovernable none but fatal and unhappy Conſequences can attend this. If any of his Subjects will have an Intereſt ſeparate from and inconſiſtent with His they *make* it his Intereſt to ſuppreſs and deſtroy theirs. If they will be jealous of him without ground they give him good ground to be jealous of them. If they oppoſe his Intereſts, he

must defend them as well as he can: Not only for his own sake, but for the sake of the Common Welfare and Tranquility. This is in him due, not only to the grand Law of *Self Preservation*, which he must be allowed to follow as well as others; but also to the Publick Benefit and Peace, which will necessarily go to wrack whenever the Government is weakned or thrown down: To be sure he must in that Case be disabled from Serving and Securing it, which is his Duty always to endeavour to do: And a good Prince must needs desire earnestly, to have it always in his Power to promote the Publick Welfare.

They that oppose the Authority of the Prince with a bare Face, and a manifest Discovery of their Design, and against apparent standing Law, are commonly with ease Suppress, when their Projects come to light, because they can seldom if ever, especially against a good Prince, make their Party Considerable and Strong: But then they bring upon themselves the displeasure of the Government and meet with Ruin from that which was Ordained for their Happiness and Protection. But the more dangerous Opposition and that which carries the mischievous and ill Consequences further is, when any seek to undermine his Authority and Government by secret and conceal'd Arts, and colour their wicked Designs by specious and plausible pretences: Perhaps they may find out ways to use even the Law it self against the Authority and Power of the Prince, and may manage their Designs so well that he cannot Defend himself against them without straining the Law to the utmost Rigour, or without some Encroachment upon it. And what shall a good and a just Prince do in so unhappy a Case? The Support of Government with the Advantages of it for the Common Good together with his own Preservation tempt him strongly to make some breach upon the Laws: The Arbitrary and undutiful Carriage of these Subjects constrain him to some Arbitrary and Irregular Proceedings against them: And tho in that Case they will not fail to Clamour loudly against him, yet is the blame of what is done most justly due to them and they are the Causes of all the Evill that follows. If he be guilty in this, they are more guilty; they are the Agressors and the first Spring

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of the Miſchief. If any Caſe will allow the reſiſting Evil with Evil it is this; and I muſt needs ſay I think it hard, if not impoſſible, to prove that this Caſe does not *juſtifie* ſome Irregular Proceedings in the Prince. That Rule may take place here, That, *the Welfare of the People*, the Community, *is the Supream Law*, and may over-rule any other. And the Support of the Government is abſolutely neceſſary for the Welfare of the People. But in this Caſe the Government cannot Support it ſelf, nor can it be for good to other Subjects unleſs it be evil to theſe. It cannot prevail againſt them for the good of the Whole, unleſs, according to the Supream Law, it makes ſome breach upon Inferiour and leſs Important Laws: And it chuſes the leaſt of two Evils in doing ſo, as the Deſtruction of a few Men of ill Principles and Deſigns, muſt needs be a leſs Evil than the Diſſolution and Overthrow of Government; which muſt be attended with the Ruin of a great many, and thoſe the good as well as bad.

If the fair pretences of ſuch Men make their Party very ſtrong they may perhaps be able to make Head againſt the Prince, and then the matter may break out into a Civil War; which is always an unſpeakable Miſery, and brings a world of Woes and Calamities to a Nation, let which Side ſoever get the Victory. War puts Law, and Property, and Religion, all that is dear to us, and which theſe troubleſome Men pretend they would ſecure, into the Hands of the Rude Soldier; makes all things ſubject to the Lawleſs Sword and does certainly expoſe them to the greateſt danger of being Loſt, for the ſake of an uncertain Security. While the Conflict laſts, the greateſt Tyranny, and the moſt irregular and arbitrary Proceeding, which is that of the Soldier, is every where exerciſed. And they who would not afford the Prince the neceſſary Aſſiſtance to Support the Honour of the Nation, or the Intereſt of neceſſary Allies abroad, ſhall be forced to ſpend more in Free-quarter of the Soldier at Home. The wretched People give away their Property to others, or ſet it at the Mercy of the moſt Lawleſs Men that it may not be at the Mercy of the Prince. So that this is a Remedy which cannot Cure, but encreaſes the Diſeaſe; and therefore unleſs it be thoſe weak People who are drawn

in by the ſpecious pretences of ill Men, none will betake themſelves to this Courſe but thoſe Men who hope and deſign to make their own Fortunes great either out of the Spoils of the Prince or of the People or both, during the Publick Confuſion.

If the Conflict determines againſt the Prince ſtill is the Condition of that Nation Sad and Calamitous. A State in Confuſion is like a troubled Sea which is not ſoon appeaſed when the ſtormy Wind that ruffled it is allayed. When a Government is in this way Diſſolved it is not eaſie to ſettle again into another. The Movers of the Rebellion who before could not endure a Superiour, are now Proud enough each of them to think none ſhould be their Equals. Every one ſtrives to ſet up himſelf above the reſt, and to be ſure every one will diſdain that any one ſhould be ſet up above him: He that would not endure his Prince above him will much leſs endure a Fellow-Subject: They who Fought to get the ſpoils of the Crown into their own Hands, now Fight about the divideing them; Thus the Contention and War, and the Miſeries of it, muſt continue: No Man ſhall know what Party to take, or where to place his Intereſts, and yet no Man perhaps ſhall be allowed to keep himſelf a Neuter. And this Contention commonly by the juſt Judgment of God ends in the Puniſhment and Deſtruction of the firſt Authors of the Confuſion; they ſee others Reap what they Sow'd, and find themſelves run down and trampled upon by *others*, who enjoy the Honours and the Profits of Government which they themſelves ſo guiltily ſought and have miſſed off.

When the Controverſie among theſe is determin'd ſtill they that get the Victory ſhall have an endleſs Trouble with the People. They have made the People ſo fond of Liberty that they will not eaſily now ſubmit to be govern'd. They have taught them to dictate to their Rulers, and if they are not gratified in all their Votes to revile and diſparage them, to murmur and rebel, and they muſt expect to find that they will ſerve them in the ſame manner. Meekneſs and Humility, Obedience, and Honouring of the Governour, are not now to be found very frequent among them. Theſe quiet and happy Diſpoſitions were baniſht from

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them before, and that was it which brought things to the State they are in. It is neceſſary, then, from the Nature of things that in this Caſe the People muſt be lawleſs and ungovernable: They will not be *perſwaded* into quiet Subjection or Order, and there muſt be no Settlement at all, or they muſt be *forced* to yield to it. And then the Movers of the Oppoſition to the Prince muſt take the ſame violent and deſperate Courſe themſelves, perhaps to a worſe Degree, to make the People ſubject to them, which they forced the Prince to take for the Defence of his Government, and for which they ſtirr'd up the Rebellion againſt him. And ſo the unhappy People fall under the Oppreſſion of their Fellow-Subjects by their extravagant Fear of the Oppreſſion of their Prince. They have exchang'd one Maſter for a great many, which is a much worſe Caſe, and perhaps a good and juſt Prince for many Tyrants. The People ſhall find theſe new Rulers very heavy ones, and what the Prince chaſtis'd with Rods theſe will chaſtiſe with Scorpions. They ſhall find that thoſe who were loth to obey are the fierceſt Tyrants when they come to rule. That theſe Men whatever they pretended, did not deſign to ſecure the Subjects Liberty and Property from the Prince, but to have it at their own Mercy, and to diſpoſe of their Neighbours Intereſt as they pleas'd. They that firſt endeavour'd to rob the King of his Authority and Power will, if they can get that, rob the People next of their Liberty and Property. As they could find Pretences for the one they will eaſily find Pretences for the other, and let looſe their Pride, their Covetouſneſs, their Malice to prey upon and devour their Neighbous, after they have done as much for the King. 'Tis a ſottiſh Stupidity in the People that they do not expect ſuch things from them. It were a Folly I ought never to pardon in my ſelf, if when I ſee any Man cheat and abuſe another, I ſhould not expect he would abuſe me too if he could. The fooliſh People are cajoll'd by theſe Men with the alluring Promiſe of more Liberty, and when theſe have ſet themſelves up, they muſt be contented with leſs. Theſe are not now the ſelf-denying Men they pretended to be, but would have the Authority of the Governours rather encreas'd than dimi-

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nish'd, when they have got the Government into their own Hands. This was it they wanted and will be sure to hold as fast as they can without yielding the least Degree of it. It appear'd before to all wise and considerate Persons that though they pretended the Peoples Liberty and the Welfare of their Country as the Reason why they would lessen the Authority of the Governour and put it into more or other Hands, yet they design'd thereby only their own Advancement; in that they would be sure to vote themselves into the Authority which they could get from him. And they would never be brought to demonstrate such a sincere and undesigning Love to their Country as to be content to exclude themselves and their Families for ever from having any Share in the alter'd Government, upon Condition they might obtain the Alterations which for the Good of their Country they pretended so much to desire. And that which wise Men, by this infallible Token, understood before, the deluded Multitude shall now feel, to their Sorrow, when 'tis too late to help themselves. They shall see they fear'd Slavery so extravagantly that it is come with their Fear, and they so blindly ran from it that they are run into it.

These are some of the Miseries which must ensue upon the Subjects Opposition to the Interests of the Prince, and Refusal to pay him the Honour which is his due. All the Benefits and Advantages of Government will thus be destroy'd, and all the Miseries of War, Confusion, Oppression, and Tyranny will take place in their stead, and chastise their Rebellion and Folly. *Destruction and Misery are in their Ways*, who will not *know* and keep to *the Way of Peace*.

I might apply all these Arguments with great Reason and Force to urge in particular, the honouring of our Excellent King; whom the Providence of God does at present set upon the Throne of these Kingdoms, and has in Mercy to us so wonderfully hitherto preserv'd. But I hope this Discourse will awaken in all good People, and those who think they have a Love and Esteem for our King, a lively and powerful Sense of their Duty, and then they will most effectually make the Application themselves.

And

And the reſt I muſt leave to the Providence of God to convince them of their Duty or puniſh them for want of doing it. I ſhall only ſay further that we have through the Mercy of God, with the beſt and moſt juſt Conſtitution of Government, the beſt King too in the World; we have it in our Power to be happy if we will; it is an old and moſt certain Maxim, That *none can hurt* England *while there is a good Correſpondence between the King and his People*; and there never was a time when the People could better maintain that Correſpondence by paying due Honour to the Prince than the preſent: Nor could the Maxim ever prove it ſelf true by conſiderable Effects better than it may do now, when we have a Prince ſo eminently qualified to direct and manage our Efforts abroad. Let us then, as many as would approve our ſelves true Lovers of our Country, and ſincerely deſirous of the publick Welfare ſet our ſelves to *Honour the King* which is the neceſſary and the beſt means to promote it. Let us abhor and ſuſpect the Deſigns of all ſuch as ſhall appear to be contriving againſt his Honour and Intereſts, reckoning them, as we may juſtly do, the Enemies of their Country; and according to the wiſe Mans Advice which it may not be amiſs to repeat, *Let us fear the Lord and the King, and not meddle with* not joyn our ſelves to any *of thoſe who are given to change. May the God of Truth and Order, of Love and Peace teach us all, the things that make for our Peace before they are hid from our Eyes. To whom be Glory and Dominion World without End.* Amen.

F I N I S.